



Unpacking the Unpredictable

From Machine Learning to Generative AI for Detecting Crises in Presidential
Democracies

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October 9, 2025

From Machine Learning...

Machine Learning and Political Events

DPhil Methodological Paper



Report

Machine Learning and Political Events: Application of a Semi-supervised Approach to Produce a Dataset on Presidential Cabinets

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Bastián González-Bustamante^{1,2}

Abstract

This paper describes the creation of a novel dataset on ministerial turnover and resignation calls in 12 presidential cabinets in Latin America from the mid-1970s to the early 2020s. The indicators on resignation calls and reallocations of cabinet members are entirely novel. Both constitute a relevant empirical contribution not only to the study of political dynamics in presidential systems and cabinet politics but also to public opinion and public policy topics. We focus on the creation of the dataset using optical recognition algorithms on press report archives together with machine learning models. The models permitted the training of ensemble semi-supervised classifiers over a period of almost 50 years. Subsequently, we provide a number of measurement validity checks to cross-validate the dataset by comparing it with similar existing data and an exploratory analysis.

Keywords

comparative politics, executives, cabinets, computational social science, machine learning

Introduction

The scarcity of specific information on political events in some regions can be partly explained by the fact that, although techniques now exist for the automatic production of event data in political science, manual coding remains a common practice. Manual data gathering is costly in terms of time and resources and cannot ensure the reproducibility of the process (Eshima et al., 2021; Radford, 2019). However, since the mid-1990s, there have been growing efforts to use automated coding to produce datasets of events and phenomena relevant to political science and public affairs (e.g. Boschee et al., 2015; Schrot, 1998, 2011; Schrot & Bracke, 2013).

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Artwork by DALL-E 3 model

Cases and Data Collection

I combined the Tesseract Optical Character Recognition (**OCR**) with different **semi-supervised machine learning models** to distinguish between resignation calls and other mentions of cabinet members in the press. This was applied to **46 years** of **Latin American Weekly Report (LAWR) archives**.



Detail of the Batches of LAWR Archives

Batch	Archives	Years	Format	Volume
Batch-01	LAWR-1975 to LAWR-1979 Including 1997	5	 CSV UTF-8	9.56 MB
Batch-02	LAWR-1980 to LAWR-1998 Excluding 1997 Including the first half of 2003	18.5	 PNG images	38.5 GB
Batch-03	LAWR-1999 to LAWR-2021 Excluding the first half of 2003	22.5	 PDF files	341 MB

Binarisation Techniques for Enhancing OCR

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<td>2051-2052</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2052-2053</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2053-2054</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2054-2055</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2055-2056</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2056-2057</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2057-2058</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2058-2059</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2059-2060</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2060-2061</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2061-2062</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2062-2063</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2063-2064</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td></tr> <tr> <td>2064-2065</td><td>132</td><td>1,900</td><td>1,400</td</td></tr></tbody></table>	Death	Hurt	Arrested	Detained	1986-87	126	1,200	1,000	1987-88	134	2,200	1,800	1988-89	132	2,200	1,800	1989-90	136	1,900	1,400	1990-91	132	1,900	1,400	1991-92	132	1,900	1,400	1992-93	132	1,900	1,400	1993-94	132	1,900	1,400	1994-95	132	1,900	1,400	1995-96	132	1,900	1,400	1996-97	132	1,900	1,400	1997-98	132	1,900	1,400	1998-99	132	1,900	1,400	1999-2000	132	1,900	1,400	2000-01	132	1,900	1,400	2001-02	132	1,900	1,400	2002-03	132	1,900	1,400	2003-04	132	1,900	1,400	2004-05	132	1,900	1,400	2005-06	132	1,900	1,400	2006-07	132	1,900	1,400	2007-08	132	1,900	1,400	2008-09	132	1,900	1,400	2009-10	132	1,900	1,400	2010-11	132	1,900	1,400	2011-12	132	1,900	1,400	2012-13	132	1,900	1,400	2013-14	132	1,900	1,400	2014-15	132	1,900	1,400	2015-16	132	1,900	1,400	2016-17	132	1,900	1,400	2017-18	132	1,900	1,400	2018-19	132	1,900	1,400	2019-20	132	1,900	1,400	2020-21	132	1,900	1,400	2021-22	132	1,900	1,400	2022-23	132	1,900	1,400	2023-24	132	1,900	1,400	2024-25	132	1,900	1,400	2025-26	132	1,900	1,400	2026-27	132	1,900	1,400	2027-28	132	1,900	1,400	2028-29	132	1,900	1,400	2029-30	132	1,900	1,400	2030-31	132	1,900	1,400	2031-32	132	1,900	1,400	2032-33	132	1,900	1,400	2033-34	132	1,900	1,400	2034-35	132	1,900	1,400	2035-36	132	1,900	1,400	2036-37	132	1,900	1,400	2037-38	132	1,900	1,400	2038-39	132	1,900	1,400	2039-40	132	1,900	1,400	2040-41	132	1,900	1,400	2041-42	132	1,900	1,400	2042-43	132	1,900	1,400	2043-44	132	1,900	1,400	2044-45	132	1,900	1,400	2045-46	132	1,900	1,400	2046-47	132	1,900	1,400	2047-48	132	1,900	1,400	2048-49	132	1,900	1,400	2049-50	132	1,900	1,400	2050-51	132	1,900	1,400	2051-52	132	1,900	1,400	2052-53	132	1,900	1,400	2053-54	132	1,900	1,400	2054-55	132	1,900	1,400	2055-56	132	1,900	1,400	2056-57	132	1,900	1,400	2057-58	132	1,900	1,400	2058-59	132	1,900	1,400	2059-60	132	1,900	1,400	2060-61	132	1,900	1,400	2061-62	132	1,900	1,400	2062-63	132	1,900	1,400	2063-64	132	1,900	1,400	2064-65	132	1,900	1,400	2065-66	132	1,900	1,400	2066-67	132	1,900	1,400	2067-68	132	1,900	1,400	2068-69	132	1,900	1,400	2069-70	132	1,900	1,400	2070-71	132	1,900	1,400	2071-72	132	1,900	1,400	2072-73	132	1,900	1,400	2073-74	132	1,900	1,400	2074-75	132	1,900	1,400	2075-76	132	1,900	1,400	2076-77	132	1,900	1,400	2077-78	132	1,900	1,400	2078-79	132	1,900	1,400	2079-80	132	1,900	1,400	2080-81	132	1,900	1,400	2081-82	132	1,900	1,400	2082-83	132	1,900	1,400	2083-84	132	1,900	1,400	2084-85	132	1,900	1,400	2085-86	132	1,900	1,400	2086-87	132	1,900	1,400	2087-88	132	1,900	1,400	2088-89	132	1,900	1,400	2089-90	132	1,900	1,400	2090-91	132	1,900	1,400	2091-92	132	1,900	1,400	2092-93	132	1,900	1,400	2093-94	132	1,900	1,400	2094-95	132	1,900	1,400	2095-96	132	1,900	1,400	2096-97	132	1,900	1,400	2097-98	132	1,900	1,400	2098-99	132	1,900	1,400	2099-2000	132	1,900	1,400	2020-2001	132	1,900	1,400	2001-2002	132	1,900	1,400	2002-2003	132	1,900	1,400	2003-2004	132	1,900	1,400	2004-2005	132	1,900	1,400	2005-2006	132	1,900	1,400	2006-2007	132	1,900	1,400	2007-2008	132	1,900	1,400	2008-2009	132	1,900	1,400	2009-2010	132	1,900	1,400	2010-2011	132	1,900	1,400	2011-2012	132	1,900	1,400	2012-2013	132	1,900	1,400	2013-2014	132	1,900	1,400	2014-2015	132	1,900	1,400	2015-2016	132	1,900	1,400	2016-2017	132	1,900	1,400	2017-2018	132	1,900	1,400	2018-2019	132	1,900	1,400	2019-2020	132	1,900	1,400	2020-2021	132	1,900	1,400	2021-2022	132	1,900	1,400	2022-2023	132	1,900	1,400	2023-2024	132	1,900	1,400	2024-2025	132	1,900	1,400	2025-2026	132	1,900	1,400	2026-2027	132	1,900	1,400	2027-2028	132	1,900	1,400	2028-2029	132	1,900	1,400	2029-2030	132	1,900	1,400	2030-2031	132	1,900	1,400	2031-2032	132	1,900	1,400	2032-2033	132	1,900	1,400	2033-2034	132	1,900	1,400	2034-2035	132	1,900	1,400	2035-2036	132	1,900	1,400	2036-2037	132	1,900	1,400	2037-2038	132	1,900	1,400	2038-2039	132	1,900	1,400	2039-2040	132	1,900	1,400	2040-2041	132	1,900	1,400	2041-2042	132	1,900	1,400	2042-2043	132	1,900	1,400	2043-2044	132	1,900	1,400	2044-2045	132	1,900	1,400	2045-2046	132	1,900	1,400	2046-2047	132	1,900	1,400	2047-2048	132	1,900	1,400	2048-2049	132	1,900	1,400	2049-2050	132	1,900	1,400	2050-2051	132	1,900	1,400	2051-2052	132	1,900	1,400	2052-2053	132	1,900	1,400	2053-2054	132	1,900	1,400	2054-2055	132	1,900	1,400	2055-2056	132	1,900	1,400	2056-2057	132	1,900	1,400	2057-2058	132	1,900	1,400	2058-2059	132	1,900	1,400	2059-2060	132	1,900	1,400	2060-2061	132	1,900	1,400	2061-2062	132	1,900	1,400	2062-2063	132	1,900	1,400	2063-2064	132	1,900	1,400	2064-2065	132	1,900	1,400	2065-2066	132	1,900	1,400	2066-2067	132	1,900	1,400	2067-2068	132	1,900	1,400	2068-2069	132	1,900	1,400	2069-2070	132	1,900	1,400	2070-2071	132	1,900	1,400	2071-2072	132	1,900	1,400	2072-2073	132	1,900	1,400	2073-2074	132	1,900	1,400	2074-2075	132	1,900	1,400	2075-2076	132	1,900	1,400	2076-2077	132	1,900	1,400	2077-2078	132	1,900	1,400	2078-2079	132	1,900	1,400	2079-2080	132	1,900	1,400	2080-2081	132	1,900	1,400	2081-2082	132	1,900	1,400	2082-2083	132	1,900	1,400	2083-2084	132	1,900	1,400	2084-2085	132	1,900	1,400	2085-2086	132	1,900	1,400	2086-2087	132	1,900	1,400	2087-2088	132	1,900	1,400	2088-2089	132	1,900	1,400	2089-2090	132	1,900	1,400	2090-2091	132	1,900	1,400	2091-2092	132	1,900	1,400	2092-2093	132	1,900	1,400	2093-2094	132	1,900	1,400	2094-2095	132	1,900	1,400	2095-2096	132	1,900	1,400	2096-2097	132	1,900	1,400	2097-2098	132	1,900	1,400	2098-2099	132	1,900	1,400	2099-2020	132	1,900	1,400	2020-2021	132	1,900	1,400	2021-2022	132	1,900	1,400	2022-2023	132	1,900	1,400	2023-2024	132	1,900	1,400	2024-2025	132	1,900	1,400	2025-2026	132	1,900	1,400	2026-2027	132	1,900	1,400	2027-2028	132	1,900	1,400	2028-2029	132	1,900	1,400	2029-2030	132	1,900	1,400	2030-2031	132	1,900	1,400	2031-2032	132	1,900	1,400	2032-2033	132	1,900	1,400	2033-2034	132	1,900	1,400	2034-2035	132	1,900	1,400	2035-2036	132	1,900	1,400	2036-2037	132	1,900	1,400	2037-2038	132	1,900	1,400	2038-2039	132	1,900	1,400	2039-2040	132	1,900	1,400	2040-2041	132	1,900	1,400	2041-2042	132	1,900	1,400	2042-2043	132	1,900	1,400	2043-2044	132	1,900	1,400	2044-2045	132	1,900	1,400	2045-2046	132	1,900	1,400	2046-2047	132	1,900	1,400	2047-2048	132	1,900	1,400	2048-2049	132	1,900	1,400	2049-2050	132	1,900	1,400	2050-2051	132	1,900	1,400	2051-2052	132	1,900	1,400	2052-2053	132	1,900	1,400	2053-2054	132	1,900	1,400	2054-2055	132	1,900	1,400	2055-2056	132	1,900	1,400	2056-2057	132	1,900	1,400	2057-2058	132	1,900	1,400	2058-2059	132	1,900	1,400	2059-2060	132	1,900	1,400	2060-2061	132	1,900	1,400	2061-2062	132	1,900	1,400	2062-2063	132	1,900	1,400	2063-2064	132	1,900	1,400	2064-2065	132	1,900	1,400</td
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POSTSCRIPT							
POLITICS			PERUVIAN VIOLENCE				
MEDEGARIA GARNET Former attorney Ernesto Medegaria Garnet, 61, died Sunday. He was a former ambassador to Brazil, Argentina, Colombia and Venezuela. He also served as a representative of the United Nations in Geneva, and as a member of the International Commission of Jurists.			Violent Deaths				
			Year	No.	Per cent		
			1980	1,000	100		
			1981	2,000	100		
			1982	2,000	100		
			1983	1,984	99		
			1984	1,918	98		
			1985	1,892	98		
			1986	1,807	98		
			1987	1,852	98		
			1988	250	100		
			Abolition of death penalty in administration of President Toledo				
				100			
			Abolition of capital punishment by President Fujimori				
				202			
<i>Sources: Defense Ministry and Ministry of Interior</i>			ECONOMY				
BIMONTHLY — New minister of Finance, Pedro Cárdenas Sánchez, has said Gorostiza will remain in charge until planning and budgeting processes are completed and a new ministry is created. INVESTMENT — Chilean Energy and mines minister Ricardo Araya said the ministry's investment program for 1989 includes \$1.5 billion in energy projects and \$1.2 billion in mining. INDUSTRY — Chilean Minister of Industry Alfonso Mori said the government will invest \$1.5 billion in industrialization during the next three months. TRADE			CHILEAN INFLATION				
			1987	1.75			
			1988	2.80			
			1989	5.88			
			1990	10.97			
			1991	12.00			
			1992	12.80			
			1993	14.15			
			REFINING TARGETS				
			1990	1.75			
			1991	1.16			
			1992	1.00			
<i>Sources: Ministry of Finance</i>			CHILEAN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS				
			1989	1990	1991		
			Exports	7,952	8,056		
			Imports	4,803	4,826		
			Trade balance	3,150	3,230		
			Source: Central Bank	Actual figures in millions of dollars			
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<i>Latin American Report</i> is a registered trademark of Latin American Report Ltd.							

POSTSCRIPT				
PERUVIAN VIOLENCE				
	Death	Inj.	Det.	Arrested
1980	16	161	16	169
1981	20	1200	867	1266
1982	20	1000	867	1266
1983	258	1,044	142	148
1984	120	1,135	1,118	18
1985	17	1,062	257	17
1986	1,396	5,157	1,162	1,162
<i>Average monthly in administration of justice</i>				
Jan. Garcia	158			
Alberto Fujimori	156			
<i>Source: Defense ministry and serials</i>				
ECONOMY				
INFLATION RATE (%)				
1985	1,700			
1986	1,100			
1987	1,100			
1988	1,100			
1989	1,100			
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2006	1,100			
2007	1,100			
2008	1,10			

Note: The images correspond to a LAWR page before and after binarisation techniques.

Tesseract Optical Character Recognition



How Domingo Cavallo rose to become Menem's virtual prime minister

Argentina are still hotly debating what lay behind the sudden resignations of President Raúl Alfonsín and his replacement, Domingo Cavallo. His rapid, uncontrolled usurpation of the role of economy minister – dismissed as suffi-

cient reason for his removal – has been published about all sorts of political plots. One that seems to stand up is Cavallo's desire to depose his mentor at Menem – and, according to sources with access to the president, one day accept it. However, a widely accepted version is that Menem, seeing Cavallo as a popular Cavallo as his economy minister, to preside over the period of transition, has given him carte blanche. It would follow a first phase of stabilisation. In this scenario, all Cavallo did was to choose his own timing.

■

INSIDE

PERU: Wildlife spread of cholera epidemic. (2)

EQUADOR: Holiday disease impact on oil. (2)

COLOMBIA: Presidents of Wta, Mirabal, with CHL. (2)

VENEZUELA: Lower prices force budget cutback. (2)

BOLIVIA: A Soviet partner for Latin America? (2)

CHILE: Proposal to extend Ayala's mandate. (6)

COSTA RICA: Preparing a new batch of cases. (11)

HAWAII: Aristotle faces first major challenges. (11)

EL SALVADOR: Progress of talks, strike, with CHL. (2)

SPAIN: Free funds for Plane Carter. (5) (7)

PARAGUAY: A Soviet partner for Latin America? (2)

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How Domingo Cavallo rose to become Menem's virtual prime minister

Argentina are still hotly debating what lay behind the sudden resignations of President Raúl Alfonsín and his replacement, Domingo Cavallo (WR-01-01). The rapid, uncontrolled usurpation of the role of economy minister – dismissed as sufficient reason for his removal – has been published about all sorts of political plots.

One that seems to stand up is Cavallo's desire to depose his mentor at Menem – and, according to sources with access to the president, one day accept it. However, a widely accepted version is that Menem, seeing Cavallo as a popular Cavallo as his economy minister, to preside over the period of transition, has given him carte blanche. It would follow a first phase of stabilisation. In this scenario, all Cavallo did was to choose his own timing.

■

INSIDE

PERU: Wildlife spread of cholera epidemic. (2)

BOLIVIA: A Soviet partner for Latin America? (2)

CHILE: Proposal to extend Ayala's mandate. (6)

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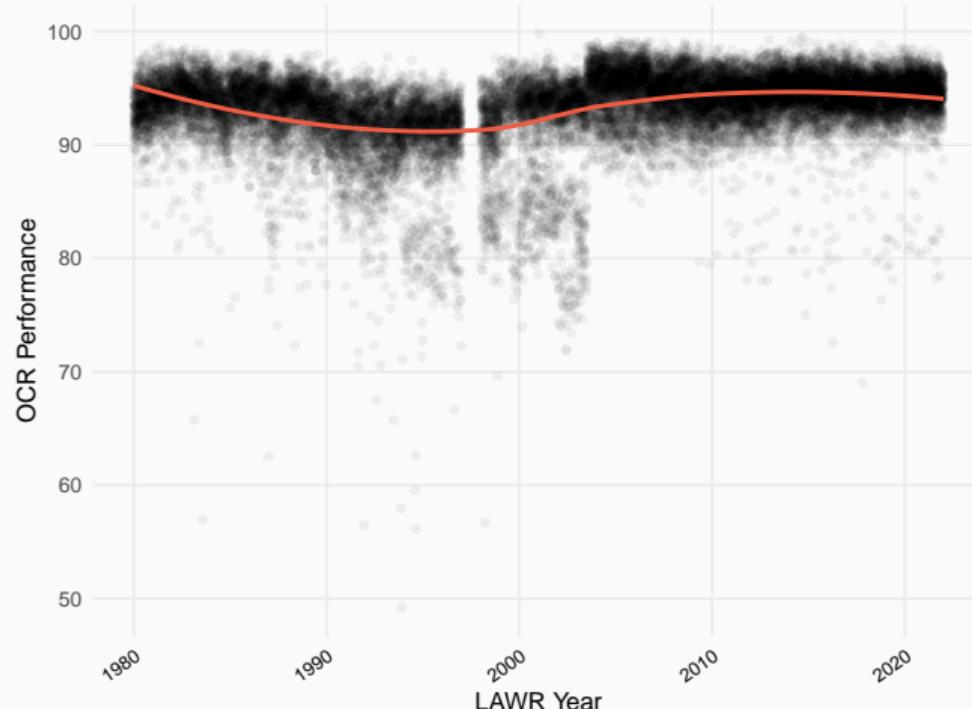
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HAWAII: Aristotle faces first major challenges. (11)

Tab-Stop Lines — Column Layout — Segmented Blocks

Performance and Accuracy of the Tesseract OCR Algorithm



Accuracy is based on the proportion of text that was correctly identified.

This calculation was performed after extracting stop words and carried out with dictionaries trained with **Long Short-Term Memory (LSTM) models** used by Tesseract.

Semi-Supervised Approach

There are two significant **drawbacks** to training **supervised algorithms**:

1. This would have required a major amount of labelled text data (**time and resources**)
2. The accuracy of the algorithms is expected to decrease out-of-the-sample and over time
(batches of archives cover almost 50 years)

Therefore, I preferred a **semi-supervised approach** that could maintain a **high accuracy level over time with a small amount of coded data** for training.

1. I drew a subsample of 1,000 LAWR press releases
2. A team of human coders classified all these observations (**resignation calls**)
3. Labelling was conducted to generate ground-truth labels to cross-validate
4. Semi-supervised models using knowledge-based seed words

Semi-Supervised Approach

Pre-processing

80% of the subsample for training

20% for validation

100 tokens per news item *

SMART stop words **

Customised list ***

Stemming algorithm

* until 500 for robustness checks

** Snowball for robustness checks

*** based on LAWR numbering

Models

Naïve Bayes (NB)

Support Vector Machine (SVM) *

Radial Basis Function (RBF) SVM **

Random Forest with 100 trees (RF100)

Random Forest with 500 trees (RF500)

Extreme Gradient Boosting (XGBoost)

* Kernel-based Linear

** Kernel-based Gaussian

Labelling Process for Benchmarking Supervised Models

Coder	Labels	$M(T)$ Label	\sum Time	Consensus
1	966	39s	10h 25m	94.05
2	718	1m 15s	15h 0m	94.84
3	704	38s	7h 29m	94.82
4	318	1m 4s	5h 38m	95.47
5	263	17s	1h 14m	99.26
6	101	1m 17s	2h 9m	88.50

Note. Each observation was hand-coded by three different coders. 2.3% of observations were revised and relabelled during an iteration step. Seed words coincide with features extracted from the benchmarking supervised models trained based on this labelling process.

Goodness-of-Prediction of the Semi-Supervised Models

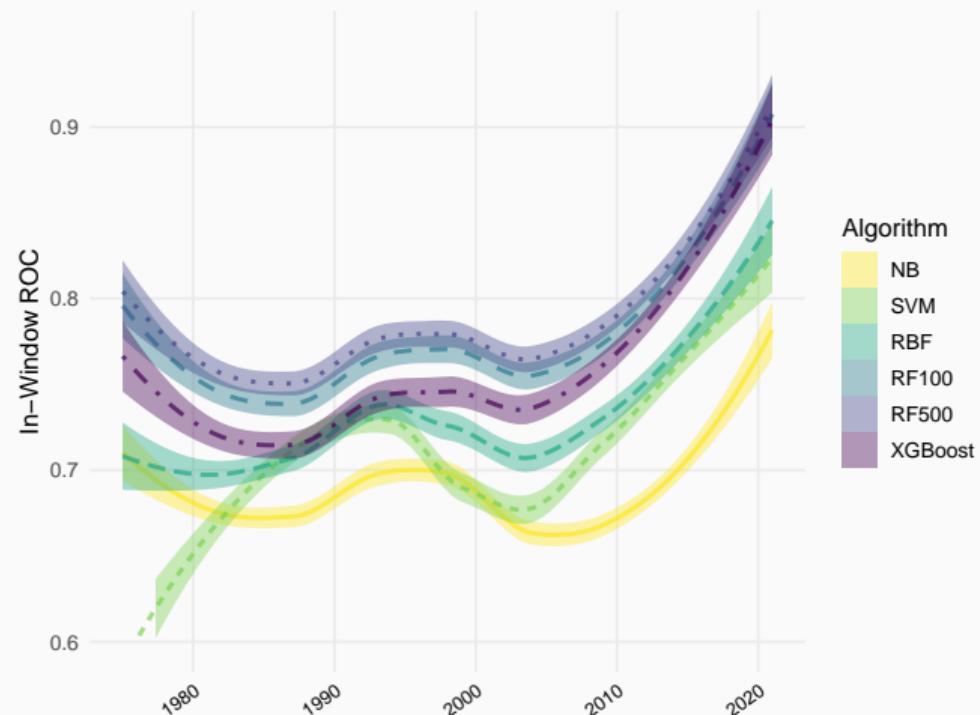
Model	Knowledge-Based Seed Words				
	Accuracy	Precision	Recall	F1-score	ROC
Naïve Bayes	0.713	0.734	0.948	0.828	0.638
Kernel Linear SVM	0.698	0.741	0.900	0.812	0.614
Kernel Gaussian RBF SVM	0.726	0.728	0.995	0.840	0.647
Random Forest (100 trees)	0.743	0.742	0.991	0.849	0.671
Random Forest (500 trees)	0.743	0.740	0.997	0.849	0.682
XGBoost	0.726	0.762	0.905	0.827	0.660

Note. The evaluation was performed with resampling methods using the testing set and 10-fold cross-validation.

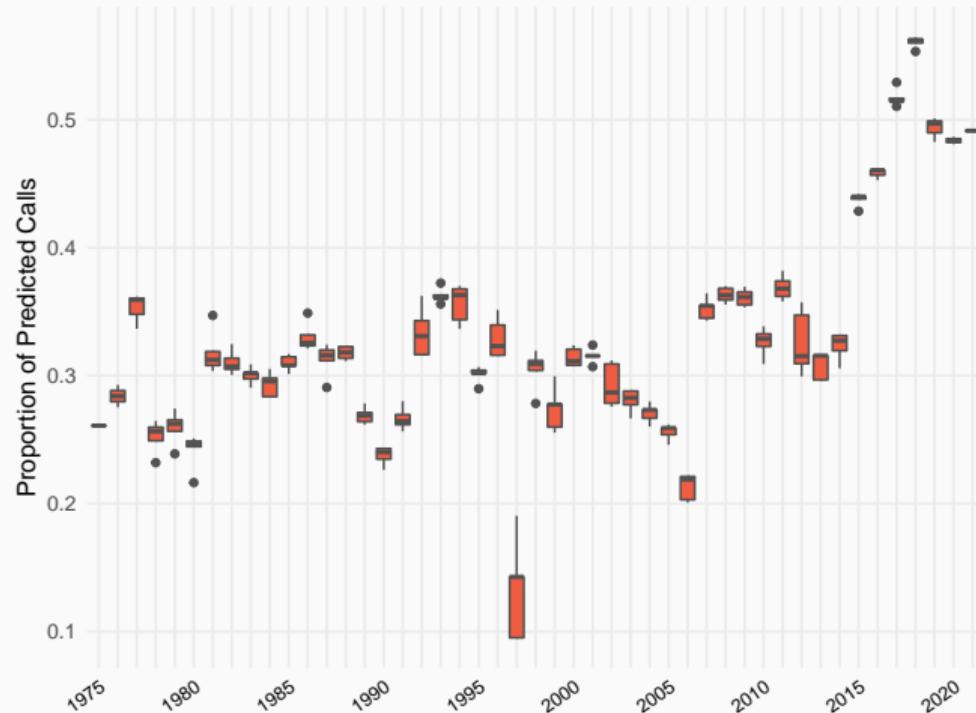
Goodness-of-Prediction of Semi-Supervised Models (1975-2021)

I trained semi-supervised models using a **five-year fixed rolling window** from 1975 to 2021 to train algorithms and predict resignation calls.

Random Forest classifiers with 500 trees 10-fold cross-validated.



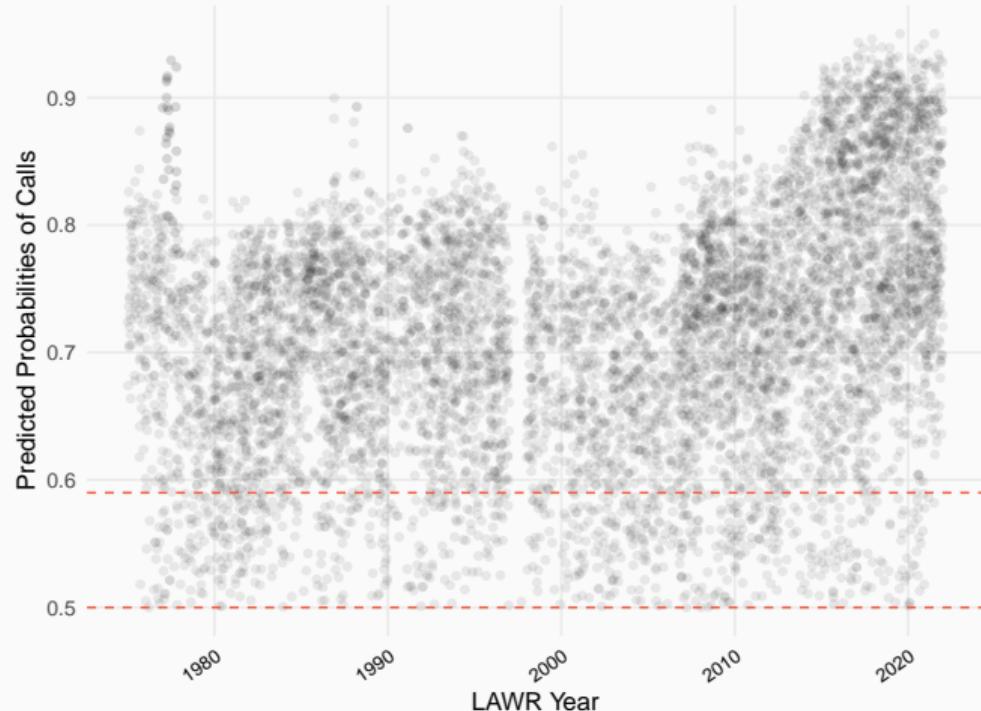
Predicted Ministerial Resignation Calls over Cabinet Press Mentions



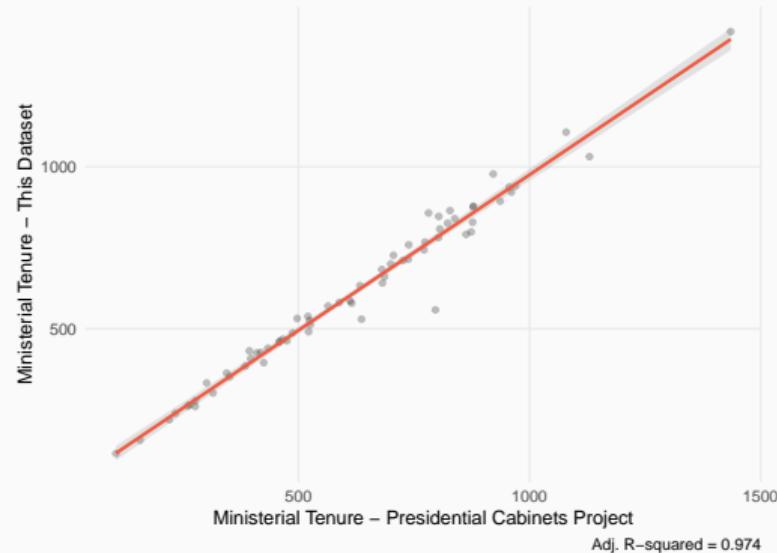
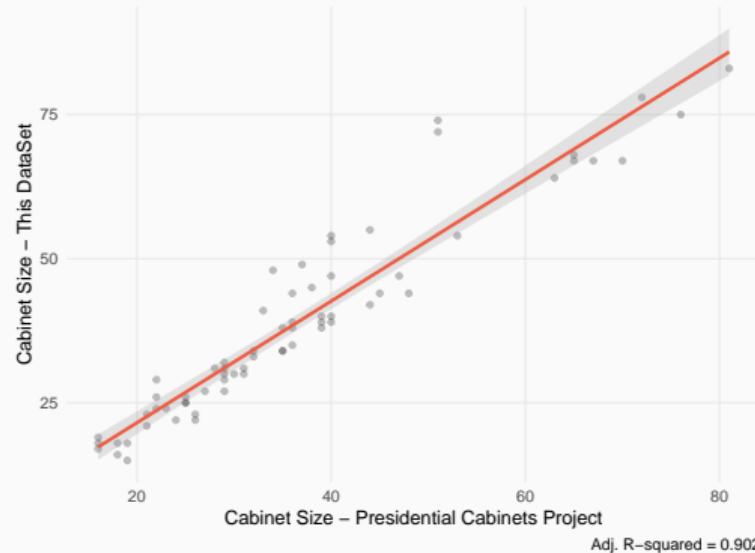
Proportion of predicted resignation calls over mentions of cabinet members in press reports, were carried out with an **ensemble semi-supervised RF500 algorithm**.

Human-in-the-Loop

I performed an augmented artificial intelligence process based on a **human review** of the predicted observations with low confidence values to improve the data's quality.

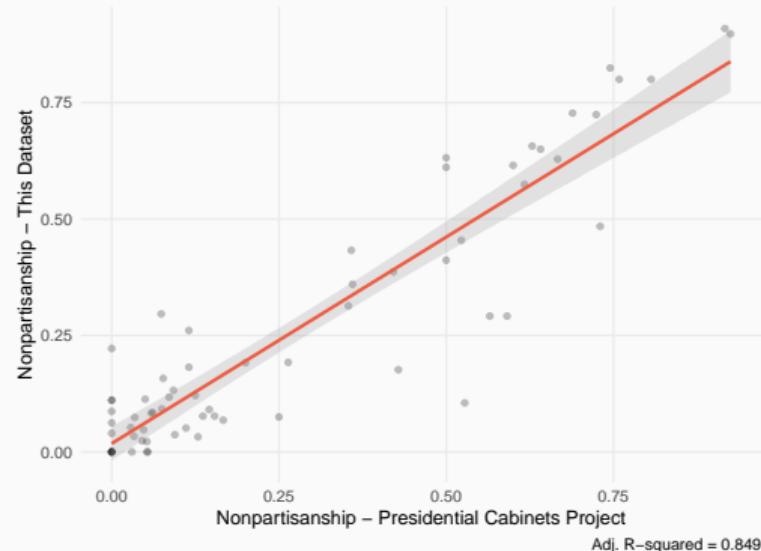
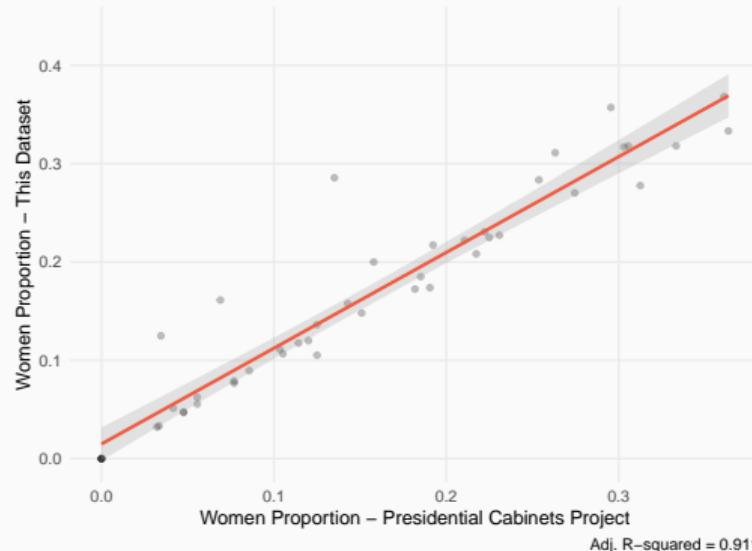


Convergent Validation against Similar Datasets



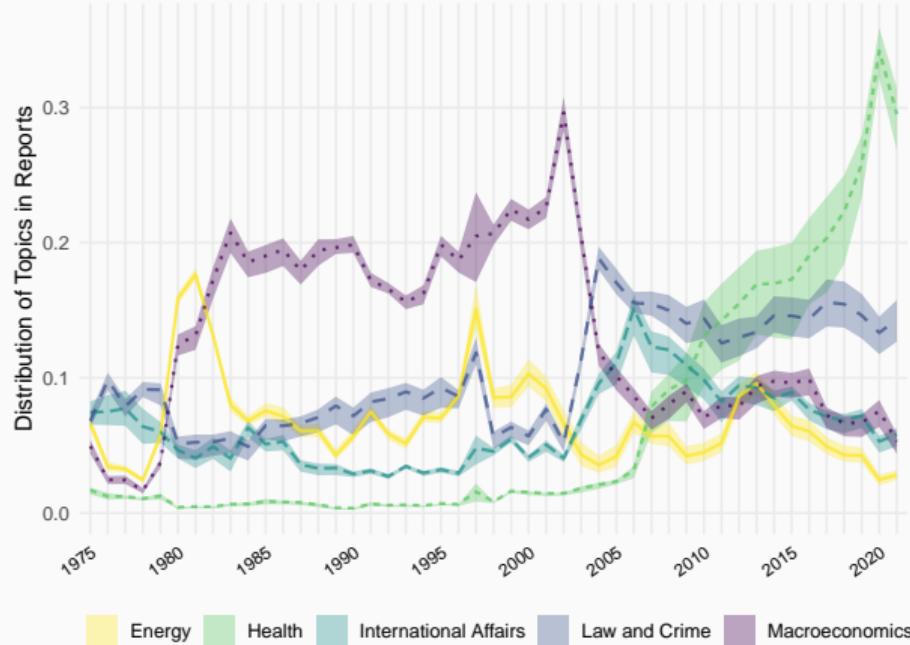
Note. Concurrent presidential terms were used for comparisons with the Presidential Cabinet Project.

Convergent Validation against Similar Datasets



Note. Concurrent presidential terms were used for comparisons with the Presidential Cabinet Project.

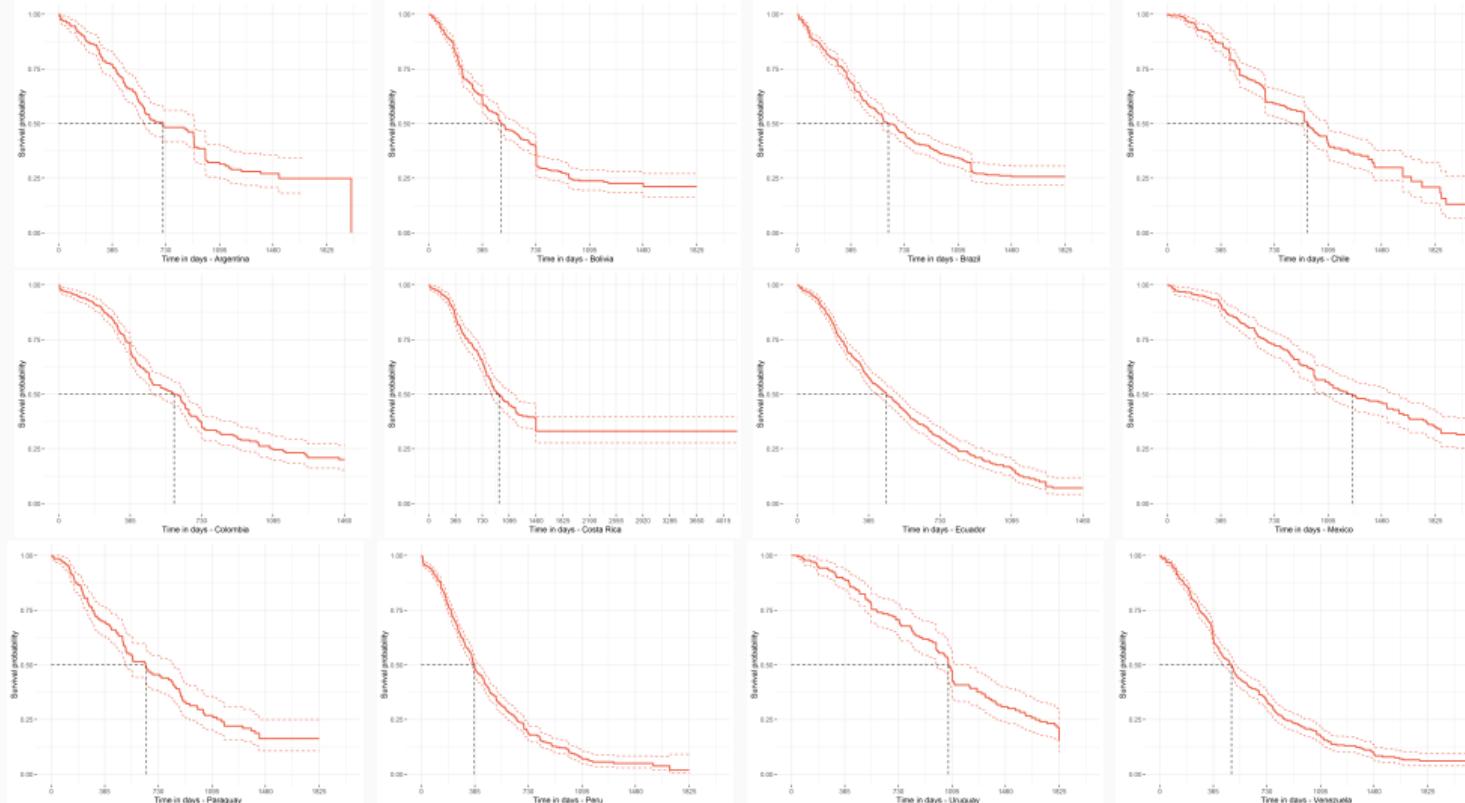
Content Validation: Major Agenda Topics in Latin America



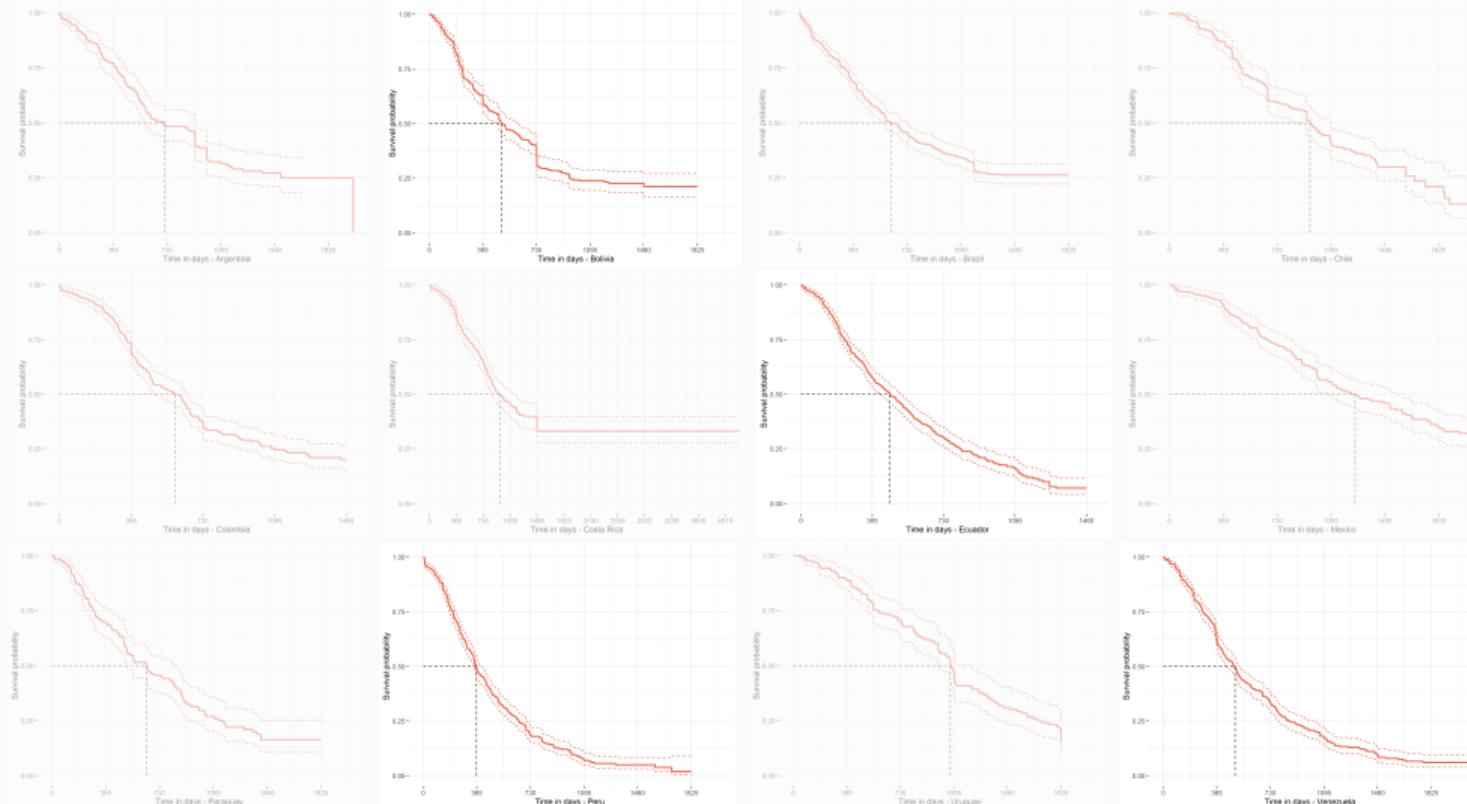
I used **Keyword Assisted Topic Modelling (key-ATM)** and a dictionary based on Comprative Agendas Project (CAP).

It is a semi-supervised Bayesian application that allows me to obtain θ (distribution of topics in the documents and Cls).

Kaplan-Meier Survival Estimations in 12 Presidential Cabinets

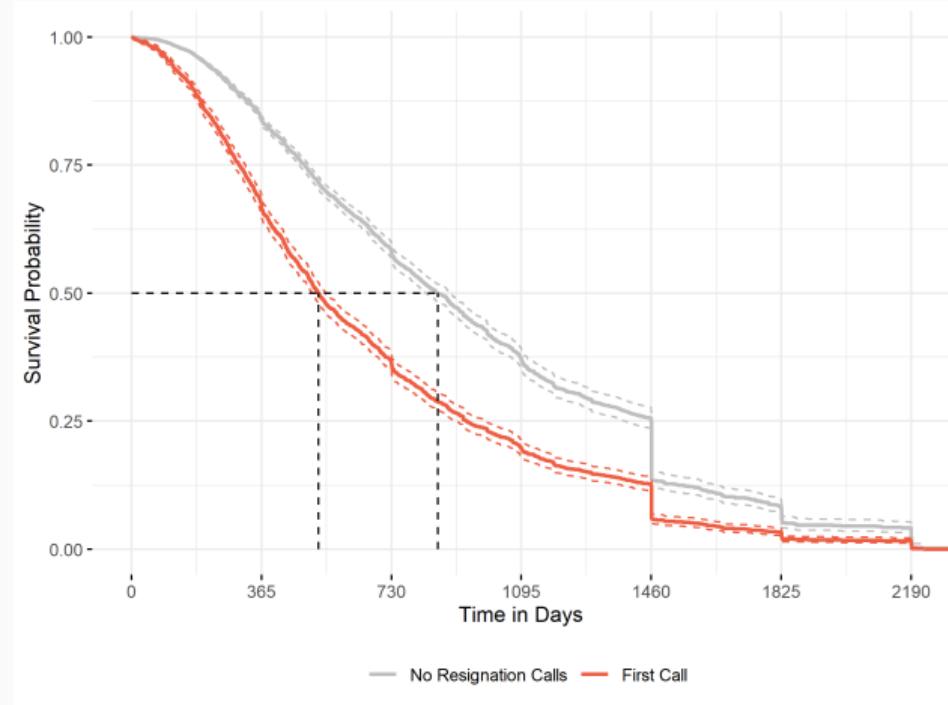


Kaplan-Meier Survival Estimations in 12 Presidential Cabinets



Kaplan-Meier Survival Estimation

$F(t) = 1 - S(t) = \Pr(T \leq t)$ can be used to obtain the incidence of ministerial exits during T by considering $S(t)$ as a survival function, if raw exit is considered an event in the **absence of competing risks**.



... to Generative AI

Enlace-Inserción UDP 2025

Unpacking the Unpredictable: Cabinet Politics in Presidential Democracies

Examining how NLP and LLMs can shed light on cabinet responses to stochastic events in Latin American democracies

Dr. Bastián González-Bustamante, Principal Investigator

Enlace-UDP Design

Project Overview



Artwork by DALL-E 3 model

- ❖ **Focus.** Investigating the impact of stochastic events on cabinet stability in presidential systems.
- ❖ **Scope.** 12 Latin American democracies, mid-1970s to early 2020s.
- ❖ **Methodology.** Utilising machine learning and AI techniques, including LLMs.

Introducing LLMs to the Field

- 📄 **Traditional text analysis.** Traditional approaches to analysing text data in social sciences often relied on manual coding, dictionaries, or topic modelling, which can be time-consuming and resource-intensive.
- 🌐 **The power of LLMs.** LLMs, with their zero- and few-shot learning capabilities, offer a powerful alternative, enabling researchers to process and analyse vast amounts of text data efficiently.
- 🏛️ **Transforming research.** This shift towards AI-powered analysis has the potential to transform computational social science research, particularly in understanding online toxicity and incivility.

OpenAI's GPTs: A Closer Look

GPT and research

Researchers have increasingly utilised OpenAI's GPT models through their **API for various tasks**, including text annotation and classification.

Advantages of GPT models

GPT models offer several advantages, including **ease of use**, access to substantial computational resources, and **impressive performance** in many tasks.

Concerns and limitations

However, concerns remain regarding **reproducibility**, data privacy, and the potential for bias in these proprietary models.

The Rise of Open-Source LLMs

Addressing the limitations

Open-source LLMs have emerged as a response to concerns surrounding proprietary models, emphasising transparency, **reproducibility**, and community-driven development.

Performance and potential

Recent studies have shown that open-source LLMs can match or **even surpass** the performance of proprietary models in specific text annotation tasks, particularly in zero-shot classification.

Cost-effective alternatives

Some open-source “Small Language Models” (SLMs) offer comparable performance with significantly **reduced computational requirements** and costs.

Case Selection Strategy

Brazil

South America's largest democracy, featuring a complex federal system and a diverse political landscape.

Venezuela

Represents significant institutional changes and varying levels of democratic stability over the study period.

Costa Rica

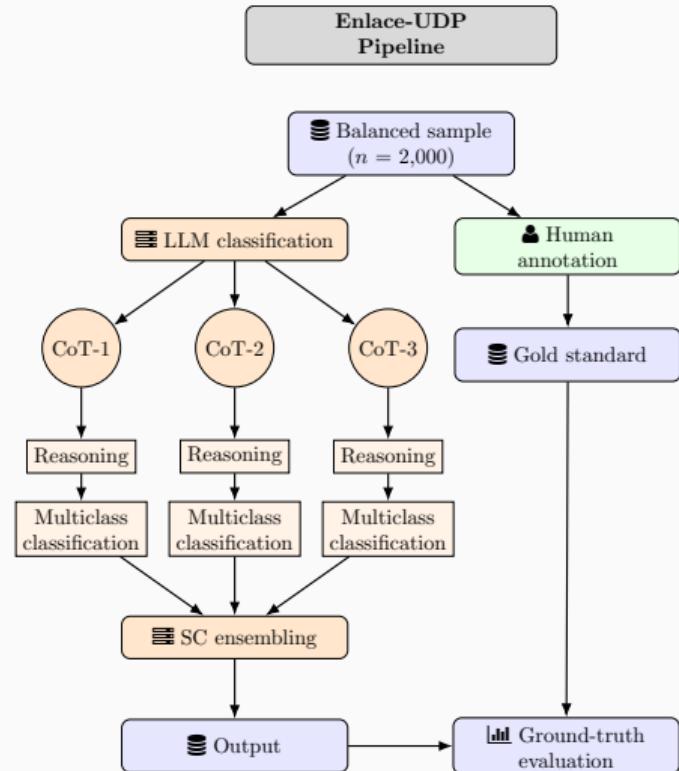
Known for consistent democratic governance and a stable institutional framework.

Mexico

Features transition from dominant-party system to competitive democracy.

Project Pipeline

- 500 media reports per country.
- 3 human coders per report.
- **Gold standard** creation and measurement validity assessment.
- We may slightly increase the sample and go for some **fine-tuned models**.



Benchmarking LLMs for Annotation

Benchmarking LLMs for Annotation

Measuring Complexity and Reproducibility: A Comprehensive Benchmark of LLMs for Multilingual Policy Agenda Topic Annotation*

Bastian González-Bustamante[†]

Leiden University

June 3, 2025

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Abstract

Although Large Language Models (LLMs) have rapidly expanded the text-as-data toolkit available to social scientists, their performance remains highly sensitive to task complexity, prompting, language and model parameters. In order to assess these limits, we conduct a cross-lingual benchmark of 79 contemporary LLMs (e.g., OpenAI's GPTs and o-series, Claude models, xAI's Grok, Meta's Llama, Alibaba's Qwen, Mistral models, among others) on a demanding zero-shot classification task: labelling one of the 21 major topics in the Comparative Agendas Project codebook to bills and Acts drawn from Danish, Dutch, English, French, Hungarian, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish corpora. We then conducted a meta-analysis that shows reasoning models lift F1-scores by around nine percentage points on average. In comparison, reproducible models under deterministic deployment conditions incur a cost of about eight percentage points in F1-score. In addition, preliminary and ongoing fine-tuning experiments suggest that fine-tuned transformers may surpass the best zero-shot LLM classification performance. These findings quantify the trade-off between performance and reproducibility, highlighting chain-of-thought reasoning as

Charting Reproducibility and Performance: LLMs in Multilingual Toxic Speech Detection*

Bastián González-Bustamante[†]

Leiden University

June 10, 2025

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Abstract

Large Language Models (LLMs) are increasingly central to analysing and mitigating incivility and toxicity in online communication, however, their comparative strengths vary by language coverage, model openness, and other factors. Drawing on the Multilingual Text Detoxification (TextDetox) corpus, which spans seven languages (i.e., Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Hindi, Russian, and Spanish), this paper benchmarks 807 model-language pairs and pools goodness-of-prediction indicators in a meta-analysis. The evaluation includes OpenAI's GPTs, o-series, Claude models, xAI's Grok, Llama checkpoints, Alibaba Qwen-series, Mistral models, among others. Three patterns emerge from our analysis. First, high-resource languages (i.e., English, German, and Spanish) enjoy, on average, a 7.7-point F1-score advantage over lower-resource counterparts (i.e., Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, and Russian). Second, proprietary models top the leaderboard in low-resource languages, however, the openness penalty is minor and statistically inconclusive. Conversely, open-source models tend to equal closed models in high-resource languages. Third, reasoning models and chain-of-thought (CoT) neither help nor harm this binary classification task, whereas compact models (with 7B parameters or fewer) trail a larger baseline by roughly 9.8 points. Ancillary findings derived from temperature

*This version was prepared for delivery at the Annual Conference of the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP), University of Konstanz, Konstanz, Germany, June 11–13, 2025.

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^{*}This version was prepared for delivery at the LLM Pre-Conference Workshop, European Political Science Association (EPSA), Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, June 25, 2025. An early version of this work was presented at the 7th Annual COMPTEXT Conference, University of Vienna, Austria, April 24–26, 2025. I am grateful to Chico Carmago for his helpful comments.

[†]Post-doctoral Researcher in Computational Social Science and Lecturer in Governance and Development, Institute of Public Administration, Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs, Leiden University, Netherlands. ♀ Wijnhaven, Turfmarkt 99, The Hague 2511 DP, Netherlands, ☎ b.a.gonzalez.bustamante@fgga.leidenuniv.nl, ✉ <https://bgonzalezbustamante.com>, ORCID iD <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1510-6820>.

Ground-Truth Policy Agenda

Denmark

15 101 bills
1953–2016

NLD

4 684 bills
1981–2009

UK

6 169 Acts
1911–2015

France

3 069 laws
1979–2013

Hungary

8 220 bills
1990–2022

Italy

4 554 laws
1983–2013

Brazil

2 449 laws
2003–2014

Spain

2 256 laws-decrees
1980–2018

Note. We split the samples in a proportion of 70/15/15 (stratified by major topic) for training, validation, and testing for future fine-tuning jobs. The samples correspond to ground-truth data of the Comparative Agendas Project.

Ground-Truth Toxicity

Arabic 5000 tweets manually annotated	Chinese 5000 messages for toxic detection	English 5000 Wikipedia comments	German 5000 Twitter and Facebook comments
Hindi 5000 Twitter and Facebook comments	Russian 5000 comments on social network OK	Spanish 5000 messages for toxic detection	

Note. We split the samples in a proportion of 70/15/15 for training, validation, and testing in case of fine-tuning jobs. The samples correspond to ground-truth data prepared for [CLEF TextDetox \(2024\)](#).

79/109 LLMs

Multiclass/Binary

Run **620/807 times** under different conditions (e.g., parameters, API/local, temperature, datasets/language)

* GPT-5 and OSS (August 2025).



SOTA closed-source LLMs

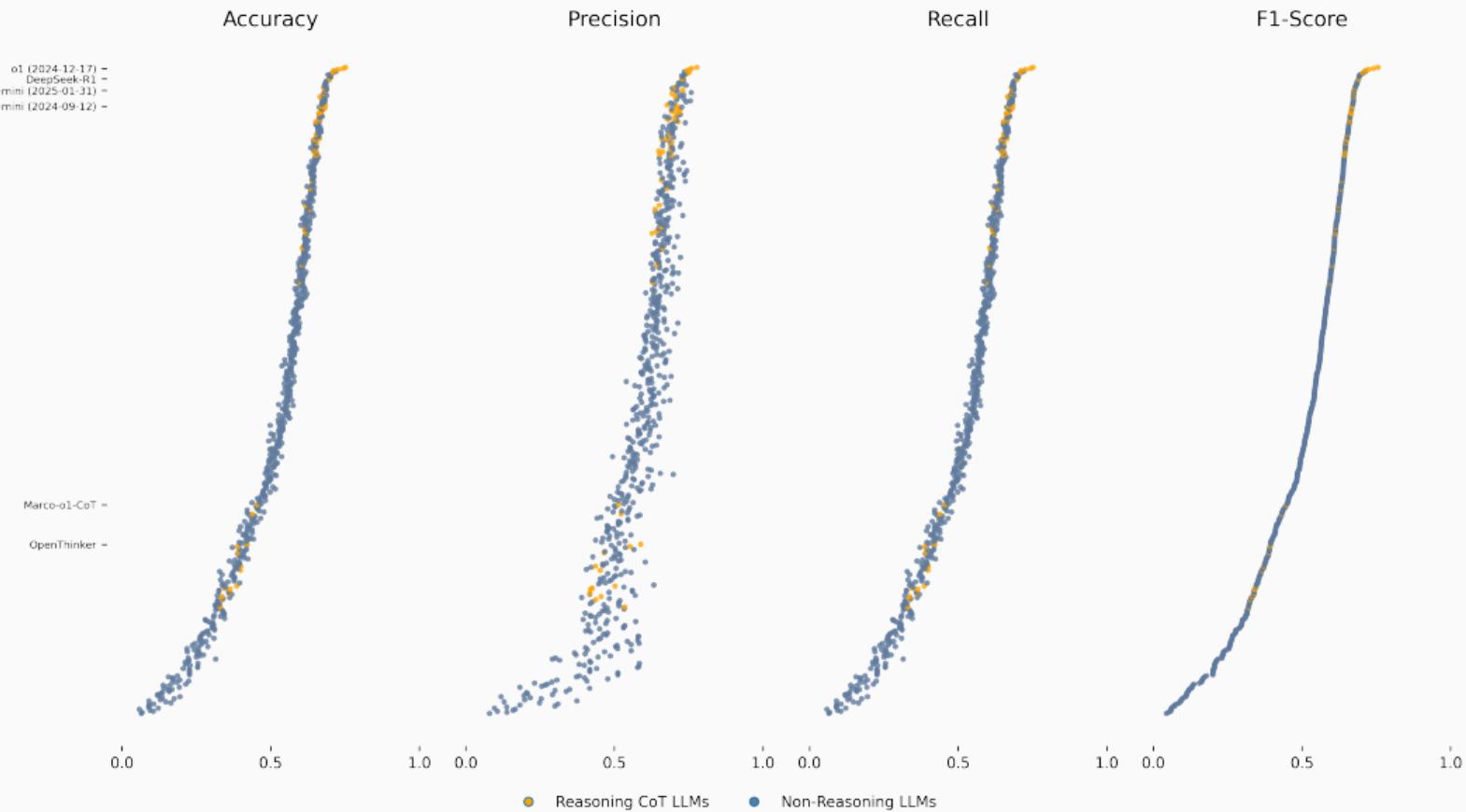
o4-mini, o3-mini, o1, GPT-4.1, GPT-4.5-preview, Grok 3 Beta, Claude 4 Opus, among others



SOTA open-source LLMs

Llama 4 Maverick (400B) and Scout (107B), Mistral 3.1 (24B), Llama 3.3 (70B), DeepSeek-R1 (671B), DeepSeek-V3 (671B), among others

Benchmarking Policy Agenda



Top Performing Models Policy Agenda

0.76

**Maximum
F1-Score**

Achieved by OpenAI
reasoning models

0.69

**Top Open-
Source Models**

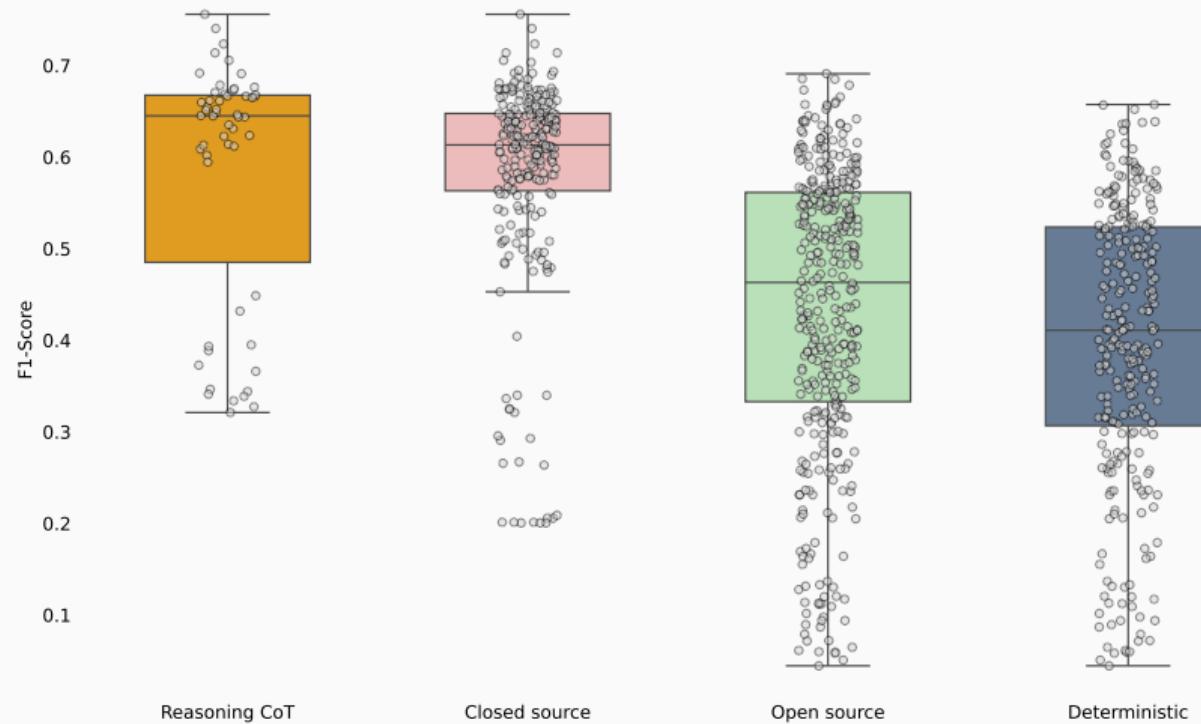
DeepSeek-R1 and V3 (671B)
and Llama 3.1 (405B)

0.54

**Mid-Range
Performance**

Gemini 1.5 series,
GPT4o-mini, Mis-
tral models, Qwen 2.5

F1-Score Across Reasoning, Source and Deterministic Setup



Comparing with Fine-Tuned Models

Language	Best LLM	F1-Score	Fine-Tuned	F1-Score	Δ Val	Δ Best LLM
Danish	GPT-4.5	0.679	Babel Machine	0.925	+0.065	+0.246
Dutch	o1	0.724	Babel Machine	0.906	+0.066	+0.182
English	o1	0.706	Babel Machine ft-XLM-RoBERTa	0.869 0.810	-0.031 -0.009	+0.163 +0.104
French	o1	0.714	Babel Machine	0.821	-0.029	+0.107
Hungarian	GPT.4-5	0.672	Babel Machine	0.751	-0.099	+0.079
Italian	o1	0.675	Babel Machine	0.930	+0.120	+0.255
Portuguese	o1	0.651	Babel Machine	0.867	-0.063	+0.216
Spanish	o4-mini	0.756	Babel Machine	0.916	+0.066	+0.160

Note. All estimates are weighted F1-scores obtained on our fixed held-out test set. The columns Δ Val and Δ Best LLM indicate: (i) the change relative to the best result on the model's own validation set; and (ii) the change relative to the strongest zero-shot LLM, respectively.

How much data leakage is present here? Probably considerable, so that the results may be inflated. However, the potential advantages of fine-tuning still seem to outweigh in-context learning, even for BERT-like models.

Key Findings Meta-Analysis Policy Agenda

+8.9%

**Reasoning
Advantage**

Chain-of-thought capabilities boost F1-score by almost 9 points

-7.8%

**Reproducibility
Penalty**

Deterministic deployment reduces F1-score by about 8 points, but ensures consistency

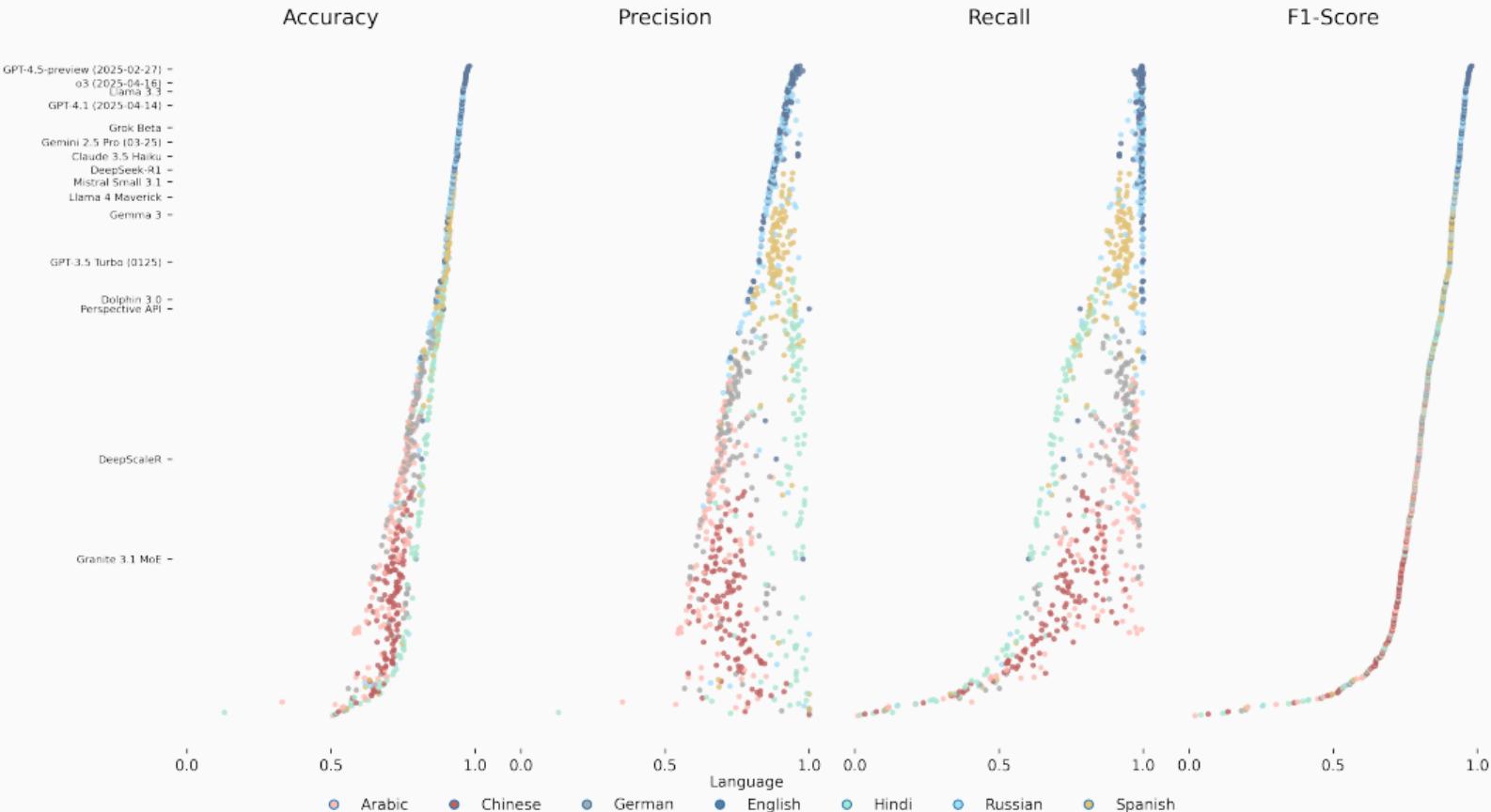
$\geq 10\%$

**Fine-Tuning
Advantage**

Supervised transformers outperform zero-shot LLMs by 10+ points

We did not find  openness penalty

Benchmarking Toxicity



Top Performing Models

Arabic

0.83 F1-Score

o3 · o1 · GPT-4.5

Chinese

0.78 F1-Score

GPT-4.1 · GPT-4o · Grok 3

English

0.98 F1-Score

Granite 3.2 ·
OLMo 2 · GPT-4.5

German

0.86 F1-Score

GPT-4.1 · o3 · GPT-4.5

Hindi

0.89 F1-Score

Mistral Saba · Mistral
Medium 3 · Gemma 2

Russian

0.96 F1-Score

o3 · GPT-4.1 nano
· Claude 4 Opus

Spanish

0.93 F1-Score

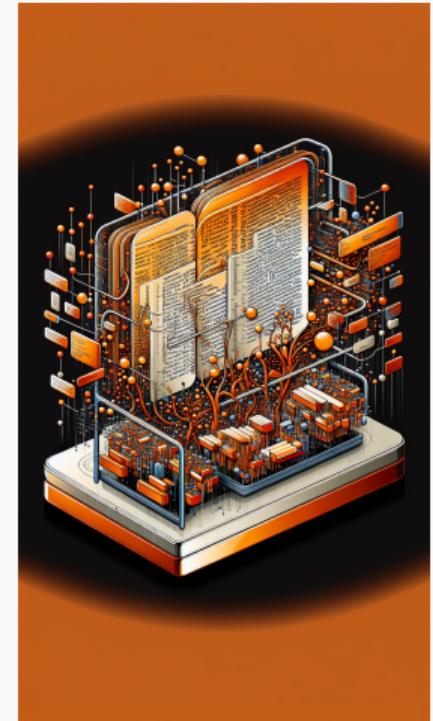
GPT-4.5 · o3 · GPT-4.1

Comparison to Perspective API

G Perspective API performance. Competitive accuracy but abysmally low recall scores, resulting in low F1-scores across languages.

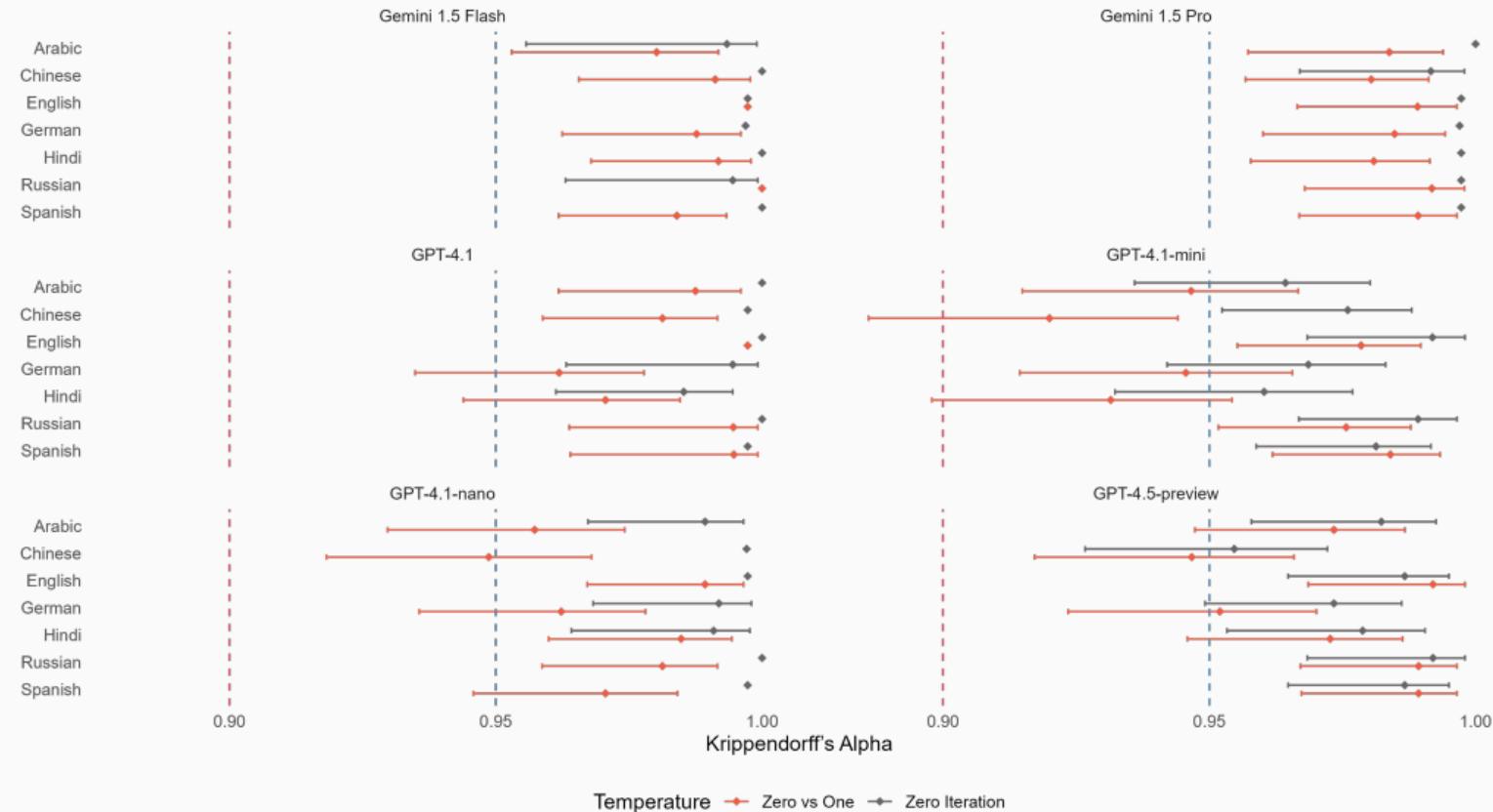
📊 Performance gap. Even weakest LLMs outperform Perspective by about 0.20 points in F1-score for Arabic and Chinese.

💻 Technological shift. Highlights transition from classical transformer pipelines to modern LLMs for toxicity classification.



Artwork by DALL-E 3 model

Temperature Experiments



Key Findings Meta-Analysis Toxicity

+7.7%

**Resource
Advantage**

High-resource languages enjoy a 7.7 points F1 advantage

-9.8%

**Size
Penalty**

Small models ($\leq 7B$) fall 9.8 points short of larger LLMs baseline

99%

**Annotation
Reliability**

Modern private LLMs exhibit outstanding reliability even w/temperature variations

We did not find openness or overthinking penalties

Methodological Takeaways

Evidence-Based Recommendations

- **Reasoning advantage.** Chain-of-thought capabilities enhance performance in policy agenda classification, but do not yield gains in toxicity classification.
- **Openness penalty inconclusive.** Slight lower performance than proprietary models, descriptively. There is no significant effect in meta-analyses. However, deterministic deployment reduces F1-scores in policy agenda classification.
- **BERT family pays off in complex tasks.** Supervised transformers outperform zero-shot LLMs by +10 points in policy classification. Even the weakest LLMs in toxicity outperformed off-the-shelf options.
- **Performance vs reproducibility.** Switching from deterministic to stochastic decoding rarely alters more than 1% of labels on average in toxicity.

This work has been supported by the Universidad Diego Portales (Inserción/Enlace Fund 2025), Agencia Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo (ANID/PFCHA/72200340), Society for Latin American Studies (Postgraduate and Postdoctoral Award), St. Hilda's College, University of Oxford (Muriel Wise Fund), and OpenAI (Academic Programme).



Thank you very much!

Do you have any questions?

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